

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: August 23, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

SECRET

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

1-Mr. Belmont
1-Mr. Rosen
1-Mr. Sullivan
1-Mr. Baumgardner
1-Mr. Bland
1-Mr. Gurley

Tolson
Belmont
Mohr
Casper
Callahan
Conrad
DeLoach
Evans
Gale
Rosen
Sullivan
Tavel
Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Pursuant to the Director's request, there is attached a detailed memorandum concerning the efforts of the Communist Party, USA, to exploit the American Negro. (u)

There is set forth below in this cover memorandum a synopsis of the detailed memorandum. (u)

SYNOPSIS

DECLASSIFIED BY Sp-2 bja

ON 3-12-85

The 19 million Negroes in the United States today constitute the largest and most important racial target of the Communist Party, USA. Since 1919 communist leaders have devised countless tactics and programs designed to penetrate and control Negro population. It has spent hundreds of thousands of dollars propagandizing the Negroes in a variety of ways. These colossal efforts have been related to "equal opportunity" and "self-determination" policies (the latter being discontinued in 1959 with the approval of Soviet Russia because it was ineffective), front organizations, parades, demonstrations, articles, pamphlets, books, films, speeches, civil rights, "peaceful coexistence," et cetera. These efforts, among other things, have resulted in establishing today such active Negro communist front groups as the African American Heritage Association, Freedomways Associates, and Southern Conference Educational Fund (not yet cited by the Attorney General). Additionally, efforts have been and are being made to infiltrate with limited degrees of success such legitimate Negro organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Negro American Labor Council, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference headed by Martin Luther King, Jr. Other legitimate Negro organizations not known to be infiltrated, influenced or controlled but are targets include Congress of Racial Equality, National Urban League and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee. ENCLOSURE (u)

Enc.

100-3-75

FJB:skw

(7)

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11-29-77

GAT/EDB

22 DEC 5 1963

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JTA/amb

min. Sullivan
to Belmont 8/29/63
WCS/pjm

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
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NEGRO QUESTION
100-3-75

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While much propaganda is issued, there is no known substantial implementation of Communist Party aims and policies among Negroes in the labor field. The Communist Party has done all possible to exploit a great number of events and issues among Negroes such as the Scottsboro Case; Emmett Till Case; Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott; 1956 March on Washington, D.C.; 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage to Washington; "sit-in" demonstrations; "freedom riders"; and school integration campaigns. While not the instigator and presently unable to direct or control the coming Negro August 28 March on Washington, D.C., communist officials are planning to do all possible to advance communist aims in a supporting role. Martin Luther King, a key figure in the March, does have as an advisor, Stanley Levinson, a secret Communist Party member. King himself has been reported to be a Marxist. (S)(u)

Despite tremendous sums of money and time spent by the Communist Party, USA, on the American Negro during the past 44 years, the Party has failed to reach its goal with the Negroes. The Director, on January 26, 1960, said publicly: "It is no secret that one of the bitterest disappointments of communistic efforts in this Nation has been their failure to lure our Negro citizens into the party. Despite every type of propaganda boomed at our Nation's Negro citizens, they have never succumbed to the party's saccharine promises of a Communist Utopia. This generation and generations to come for many years owe a tremendous debt to our Negro citizens who have consistently refused to surrender their freedoms for the tyranny of communism." (S)(u)

Negroes represent ten per cent of the population of the United States or 19 million. If one was to apply this breakdown to Gus Hall's figure of 10,000 Communist Party members today, it would give to the Party 1,000 Negro members. (Applied to our classified figure of 4,453 active Communist Party members, the estimated number of Negro communists would be 445. This would not, of course, include communist sympathizers, supporters or dupes but only those included under our very strict and exacting Party membership requirements.) Despite the obvious failure of the Communist Party of the United States to appreciably

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100-3-75

~~SECRET~~

infiltrate, influence or control large numbers of American Negroes in this country, the fact remains that the 19 million Negroes in this country constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party of the United States. It would be foolhardy on anybody's part to ignore this very significant truth. Further, we are right now in this Nation involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists. The Communist Party in the next few years may fail dismally with the American Negro as it has in the past. On the other hand, it may make prodigious strides and great successes with the American Negroes, to the serious detriment of our national security. Time alone will tell.

(u)

g.g.

W.C.S.

W.C.S.

g.g.

This memo reminds me vividly of those received when Castro took over Cuba. You contended then that Castro & his cohorts were not Communists & not influenced by Communists. Time alone proved you wrong. I for one can't ignore the memos re King, O'Dell, Livingston, Rustin, Hall et al as having only an infinitesimal effect on the efforts to exploit the American Negro by the Communists. (u)

~~SECRET~~

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5-15-01 BY SP4/MLC
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Tolson ☒
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Sullivan ☒
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9/18/63

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

While the attached memorandum bears the initials of Mr. Baumgardner, it was prepared from a rough-draft furnished to him by Mr. Sullivan.

ENCLOSURE

It should be understood that Sullivan, Baumgardner, Sizoo and Belmont read the memorandum and agreed with it prior to its submission.

2 xerox copies given to ORE 8/19/76.
J. J. Mohr

Enclosure

REC-5

100-111-253

Clyde Tolson

CT:LCB

2 ENCLOSURE

I have certainly been misled by this memorandum which clearly showed a conspiracy of penetration of the racial movement. The attached is a copy of the history of all that we are dealing with. We are dealing with a man known as [illegible] who is a [illegible] and is a [illegible] of the [illegible] movement.

OCT 12 1963

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DECLASSIFIED BY SP-2 bja

ON 3-12-85

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont

DATE: August 30, 1963

FROM : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
NEGRO QUESTION1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. D.E. Moore
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

TOP SECRET

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EXCISE

Date of

DECLASSIFIED BY IS - C S. [unclear]
ON 3/2/80 #248852

Date of

Influence in

Tolson
Belmont
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Sullivan
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Trotter
Tele. Room
Holmes
Gandy

Reference is made to the enclosed material on which the Director has written: "This memo reminds me vividly of those I received when Castro took over Cuba. You contended then that Castro and his cohorts were not Communists and not influenced by Communists. Time alone proved you wrong. I for one can't ignore the memos re King, O'Dell, Levison, Rustin, Hall et al as having only an infinitesimal effect on the efforts to exploit the American Negro by the Communists."

The Director is correct. We were completely wrong about believing the evidence was not sufficient to determine some years ago that Fidel Castro was not a communist or under communist influence. On investigating and writing about communism and the American Negro, we had better remember this and profit by the lesson it should teach us

I do think that much of the difficulty relating to the memorandum rightly questioned by the Director is to be found centered in the word "influence." We do not have, and no Government agency or private organization has, any yardstick which can accurately measure "influence" in this particular context, even when we know it does exist such as in the case of the obvious influence of the concealed communist Stanley Levison over Martin Luther King and King's influence over other Negro leaders. Personally, I believe in the light of King's powerful demagogic speech yesterday he stands head and shoulders over all other Negro leaders put together when it comes to influencing great masses of Negroes. We must mark him now, if we have not done so before, as the most dangerous Negro of the future in this Nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security.

On determining membership of Negroes in the Communist Party, we are not confronted with the same problem. We do have here accurate yardsticks for establishing membership. Of course, our standards are very exacting. This means there are many Negroes who are fellow-travellers, sympathizers or who aid the Party, knowingly or unknowingly, but do not qualify as members. These we must not ignore. The old communist principle still holds: "Communism must be built with non-communist hands." Therefore, it may be unrealistic to limit ourselves as we have been doing to legalistic proof or definitely conclusive evidence

Enclosure

100-3-75

WCS:lm1:djw

DEC 5 1963

SENT DIRECTOR

8/30/63

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3/9/77

22 DEC 5 1963

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1 Xerox copy of Enclosure Baffled File given to OPR 8/5/74

(u) 100-106670

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Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
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NEGRO QUESTION
100-3-75

~~SECRET~~

that would stand up in testimony in court or before Congressional committees that the Communist Party, USA, does wield substantial influence over Negroes which one day could become decisive. (u)

The memorandum which the Director penetratively questioned, while showing in the details the communist impact on Negroes, did suffer from such limitations. These limitations we will make every effort to lift in the future. The great amount of attention this Division is giving to communist activities directed toward the Negro should enable us to do this. (u)

For example, here at the Seat of Government, the Negro - communist question takes up as a whole the time of one supervisor and during the past few weeks four men have been so occupied. Additionally, (1) specialized instructions are regularly given the field on communist infiltration of the Negro; (2) monographs have been written on the subject and widely disseminated; (3) regularly disseminated are memoranda and reports; (4) August 21, 1963, we devoted the entire Current Intelligence Analysis to the communist plans for the Negro March of August 28, 1963, (149 copies of this Analysis were disseminated to 44 agencies of the Government); (5) much material on the issue is given to Agents at In-Service; and (6) an SAC Letter is under preparation in this Division now giving the field the benefit of what we learned from the Negro March on Washington and issuing instructions for increased coverage of communist influence on the Negro. (u)

As the memorandum pointed out, "this Nation is involved in a form of racial revolution and the time has never been so right for exploitation of the Negroes by communist propagandists." Nineteen million Negroes constitute the greatest single racial target of the Communist Party, USA. This is a sombre reality we must never lose sight of. We will do everything possible in the troubled future to develop for the Director all available facts relating to Negro membership in the Communist Party, plus the more complex and difficult to ascertain influence of communist organizations and officials over the leaders and masses of Negroes. (u)

We regret greatly that the memorandum did not measure up to what the Director has a right to expect from our analysis. (u)

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director. (u)

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